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the brush. In its place they use the tips of wood, small rulers, the back of a knife, 531
or even the finger tips, when they do not smear the coloring plant directly on the
object to be decorated. All the pigments are vegetable dyes. The juice of one fleshy 386
fruit (T., na'i^{n}kʊ) furnishes a dark violet which, upon contact with iron, changes
into a clear blue. A bright yellow is obtained from the root of the *açafrôa* (*Amaryllis*
sp.). The crushed leaves of a jungle plant called bʊ'rẽ provides green; urueú seeds
give a bright red. The fresh colors give a brilliant appearance; they are applied
indiscriminately and arbitrarily, without the slightest regard to the natural color
of the object reproduced. The best products of Tukuna art are the tururí (bark
cloth) costumes of the masqueraders (pls. 16, 17, 18).

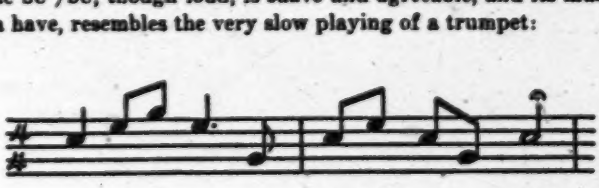
Music

Even less developed than Tukuna sculpture and painting are their songs and musi- 533
cal instruments. The Tukuna sing in an almost imperceptible manner; unless one
observed the moving lips one would not know that they were singing, since the
sound of their voices is completely muffled by the din of the drums and rattles.
At celebrations, certain women were pointed out to me as reputedly good singers,
and, in the company of others, they sang expresaly for me. Even though they were
at a distance of three handbreadths from my ear, I could hardly hear the song.
The men sing in equally muted fashion and in falsetto.

The music is composed sometimes of only two notes infinitely repeated; at other
times the melody is a little more varied:

The Tukuna have a very peculiar instrument, which at first glance appears to 534
be a horn, of paxiuba wood, 6½ m. long and slightly conical in the upper part.
Its diameter varies from 12 cm. at the mouth to 5 cm. at the mouthpiece. This
instrument is called tɔ'/kɨ, and to see it is taboo for women and the uninitiated
(na'-ʊtɨ ya tɔ'/kɨ, "the uaricána is taboo"). The tɔ'/kɨ is not, however, a wind
instrument but a megaphone through which one sings and speaks.

The companion to the tɔ'/kɨ is the bʊ'/bʊ, a true conical horn from 4 to 6 m.
long, made from a long strip of bark of the dʊ:'ru tree, rolled into a spiral and
secured by two lateral rods tied along the entire length of the instrument. In the
lingua geral, the name uaricána is applied to both the tɔ'/kɨ and the bʊ'/bʊ. The
sound of the bʊ'/bʊ, though loud, is suave and agreeable, and its music, the best
the Tukuna have, resembles the very slow playing of a trumpet:



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534 A piston flute, *hẽ'kutʃ* (fig. 7, *a*), made from the bark of *cipó mucunã* (*Mucuna* sp.), completes this group of wind instruments. The tube is 40 cm. long by 2 cm. in diameter; the piston is a small rod with a wad of *embira* (envira) at one end.

Two instruments, used by both sexes, invariably accompany any and all ceremonial acts: the small drum and the rattle stick. The first, tu:'tu (pl. 14, *i*) is clearly European. The body is a short cylinder of *ôca de ambaúva* wood (*Cecropia* sp.) from 20 to 30 cm. in diameter. Each end is covered with the dry skin of the guariba monkey or the *surubím* pegged down by a hoop. The two hoops are wedged fast by another pair of hoops placed over them and connected by zigzag cords. A

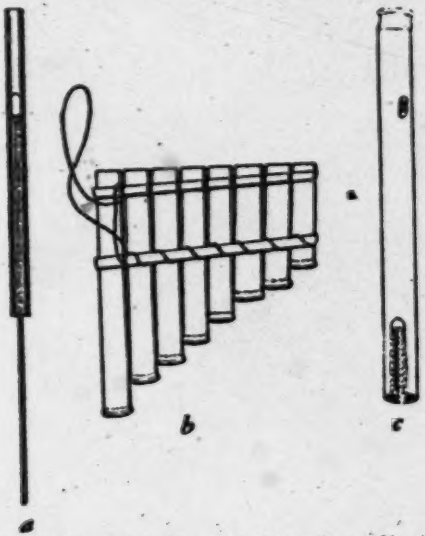

Fig. 7. Musical instruments. *a*. Piston flute, × ⅛. *b*. Panpipes, × ¼. *c*. Bamboo horn, × 1/12.

cord stretched tightly across the drumhead, sometimes with a bead or small piece of metal tied in the center, hums when the drum is struck. The instrument hangs by a loop of cord from the end of the dance staff or dangles from the left hand. The beat, produced with only one drumstick (tu:tu-ñarʃ-pa /u'[a]) about a hand [533] breadth in size, made of either muirapiranga wood or bone, is simple and measured, marking the rhythm of the dance but not that of the chant, which is carried on independently of the drumbeat.

534 Anyone observing the Tukuna marching, to the sound of the drum, with measured step in lines of two or three, one behind the other, with the dance staves over 481 their shoulders, cannot but notice the resemblance to the marching of soldiers. I 177 consider it quite possible that the Tukuna formation is nothing more than an imitation of the soldiers' march, adopted, together with the military snare drum, from the frequent occasions when these Indians attended military exercises at Fort Tabatinga, founded in 1776.

534 It is strange that neither the drum nor the dance staff, which are seen today in 114 all the houses and are indispensable at any feast, is mentioned by any of the writers

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who attended earlier Tukuna ceremonies.[1] Maw writes that the arrival of the masked dancers "was announced by a noise (I think by beating a kind of a drum)" and only Bates, in 1857, speaks of a "monotonous see-saw and stamping dance accompanied by singing and drumming."[2]

There are no drums or dance staves in the illustration "Maskenzug der Ticunas" in Spix's atlas, nor are there any in Bates's. However, the European-type drum was spread among tribes to the north of the Amazon, whence it could have come to the Tukuna through other Indians; and Spix attended a dance among the Pasé and Yuri[3] that he characterized as a "nationalen Militärmarsch."[4] However, in this place there was also a foreign military detachment.

Spix gives us an indication of what was probably the original form of the Tukuna drum. Describing the entrance of the masked dancers, he writes: "Den Beschluss machte ein altes hässliches, ganz schwarz bemaltes Weib welches auf einer getrockneten Schilkrötenschale einen einförmigen Tact schlug."[5]

Even today this type of drum, called pɔ:'vi, or tɔri'—from tracajá, "turtle," because it is always made of turtle shell—is used along with the other wood-and-leather drum, although only for specific ceremonies and in a way which differs from that shown in Spix's illustration. Furthermore, the shell is usually much larger, the ones in Spix's plate being from 50 to 60 cm. long. A rod for striking the drum is securely tied on it in a horizontal position. The drum, with the plastron facing up, is hung horizontally from the house roof, about 1 m. from the ground, the two ends of the rod being held by two men, one of whom handles the drumstick while the other shakes the rattle. The head of the drumstick is wrapped in tururí bark cloth. Grasping the rod of the drum, the two men dance four paces to the front and four to the rear. Behind them dance the others.

The text of the chants sung on this occasion refers to the turtle and consists of the repetition of a few words:

1. The turtle is our child.
2. The soft place in the black mud.
3. The cove of the river of half-white water.
4. The grey ambaúvas are his resting place.
5. Like the royal hawk I seize my turtle.
6. His lake has muddied [troubled] water.

and so forth. A strange element is the use of Tupí words in these chants: river, panana' (Tupí, parana'; Tukuna, ta/t|), and royal hawk, virava' (Tupí, w|ra-wasu'; Tukuna, da:v|).

At a fixed moment the two men remove the drum from the cord and, holding it by the ends of the rod, take a few turns with it about the house where the feast is being celebrated, accompanied by the other dancers. This instrument, as well as the dance form, appears to me to be entirely aboriginal.

The large xylophone (slit drums), *torocána* in the lingua geral, were never used by the Tukuna, who only know of them from the Witóto and Miránya.

[1] Spix and Martius, p. 1188; Maw, p. 220.
[2] Bates, 2:405.
[3] Spix and Martius, p. 1186.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1188.

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202 As a signal of alarm they strike blows with the *olho do terçado*, "eye of the machete,"* on the keel or sides of an overturned canoe, or against a leaning plank.

534 The rattle stick is a substitute for the gourd rattle, *maracá*, which is completely unknown among the Tukuna. It is a crude stick, retaining its bark, about 1 m. or more in length and from 2 to 3 cm. thick. The rattles are tied to the lower third. It is not used in the "military march" mentioned above, but it is never absent from any other ceremony. The beat is often at variance with the measure of the drum, owing to its generally much slower tempo.

The rattles are almost always made of the hulls of one of two species of vegetable: the fruit of the *auaí* (*Thevetia nerifolia;* l.g., auaí, T., a:'ru), the other and smaller one called in Tukuna kə'/taru (l.g., *auahy do igapó*). The hulls are suspended from a narrow web plaited from tucum fiber. The masked dancers also carry these hulls attached to the ends of their staves and spears, and even tied below the knee.

An instrument of masculine use, which I do not know whether to consider a variation of the rattle stick or a "stamping tube," is the ba:'/ma, an enormous, thick reed (l.g., taxuaruçú; *Guadua superba* Hub.) about 2½ m. or more long (pl. 14, *g*). The upper end, in the shape of a caiman's mouth, is open to a depth of 20 [532] to 30 cm. This mouth is toothed in the masculine and smooth in the feminine specimens. Below the mouth is the small face of a demon, similar to those of the masks, and below this are tied rattles. The rest of the piece is decorated with a few belts [231] of urucú on which are glued hawk feathers.

The ba:'/ma are always used in pairs, male and female. Two players dance, one 533 in front of the other, each holding his ba:'/ma in both hands and beating the ground with the lower end, the two instruments being crossed. Since the internal nodes are not removed, the sound is negligible. Like the turtleshell drum, the ba:'/ma is used exclusively by certain clans; it also figures in the legend of the culture heroes.

534 Used in conjunction with the ba:'/ma, there are also the kə"iri, horns of the bamboo some 70 cm. or more in length and 6 cm. in diameter. One end of the instrument is sealed by a node; the other is open and cut into the shape of a caiman's [532] mouth, exactly like that of the ba:'/ma. Like the latter, the kə"iri are decorated with urucú and hawk plumage. About 15 cm. from the closed end there is a rectangular opening through which one blows into the instrument to produce its single note. It is used only on special occasions—by both sexes and always by three couples. Like the ba:'/ma, the kə"iri are male and female.

Aside from these instruments of ceremonial use there are few musical instruments; such as there are are somewhat suspect as aboriginal instruments or are clearly post-Columbian. Without doubt the flute (vavë'ru), made from royal-hawk [237] bone (*Harpya destructor*, L.) is aboriginal, since the hawk occurs in a legend of the culture heroes (see p. 125). It is blown into from one end and has five holes for the fingers—four grouped together on the anterior side and one opposite them on the lower surface. Another flute, cited by Tessmann, is made of bamboo, with two holes close to the lower end; a specimen of this type is in the Berlin Museum. [171] A third flute, with more holes, is just like that used by the Neobrazilian population of the region, but I do not know which was borrowed from whom.

* This refers to the iron ring helving the blade to the grip.—Trans.

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As Tessmann has already observed, there are no transversal flutes or clarinets of the type known as *torá*. A signal horn made of a simple piece of thick bamboo with a lateral opening, closed on one side and open on the other, is invariably carried in the canoe for signaling the arrival of people and for calling them.

Panpipes commonly consist of eight tubes of bamboo (the longest being 15 cm.), joined by two pairs of rattan lashings (fig. 7, *b*). Panpipes are not played in pairs. The Tukuna name for them is čə̈'ku or dʊrə'tʊ (Loreto). Loreto is the name of a sub-Andean department of Peru, pronounced in the Tukuna manner "dʊrə'tʊ" which makes one suppose that the instrument has come from that region.

There is a kind of ocarina (pʊ|'čane) made from the seed of the *umarí* (*Poraqueiba* sp.), and a clay whistle in the shape of a frog (və:'tavə̈, a name which imitates the frog's croak). Tessmann erroneously calls it *tó'ko*,[1] which is actually the name of a large megaphone (tə'/k|).

The Tukuna learned from the Neobrazilians not only how to play the violin but also how to make it, and on the Rio Jacurapá there was an Indian whose violins were sought after by civilized persons—until the authorities of São Paulo de Olivença ordered his arrest for tax evasion (see p. 138). In spite of the attraction this instrument has for the Tukuna, they produce very little music from it, never playing their tribal melodies but only those which they learn from festivities of Neobrazilians in the region, who, for their part, are far from possessing the musical talent of the northeastern Brazilians.

Pottery

One finds evidence in the kitchen that the Tukuna still produce pottery. This art is principally practiced by women, but not exclusively so, for many men also perform this task to perfection, whereas many women never devote themselves to it.

In all the igarapés inhabited by the Tukúna, a plastic potters' clay of good quality is found more or less frequently; it almost always occurs in the sloughs at the foot of the high bluffs along the river. This raw material is accorded a certain respect, since its patron is an aquatic monster, dyə̈'vaə̈, which at times presents itself in the form of the western rainbow.

The clay is said to become useless if a pregnant woman touches or even approaches it: it will not bind, and the jars, on drying, will shatter into pieces. It is considered very dangerous for a woman in this condition to go to the bank to fetch clay, as illustrated by the following legend.[2]

Once, a group of women went to a bank to collect clay for pottery. A woman big with child insisted on accompanying them in spite of the others counseling her not to. The others had already dug out the clay that they needed and had piled it on the bank, where they were still standing when the pregnant woman, seeing nothing suspicious, went down to dig clay, too. She squatted down in the middle of the pit, which was half-filled with water, and took out clay with both hands. Suddenly, dyə̈'vaə̈, down at the bottom, allowed a muffled roar to be heard. The women on the bank heard it and cried out: "The owner of the clay is angry! Come up quickly!"

"What is the matter?" replied the pregnant one. "I heard nothing." And she continued to dig. She had just taken out a good quantity of clay when a muffled thunderclap was heard.

[1] Tessmann, p. 361.
[2] Cf. the legend of tau/čipə̈, p. 120.

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host suggests the bringing of masks, tucum fibers, and so forth. These trips generally take two days, and only persons with whom the vorēkį's family maintain good relations receive an invitation. A Tukuna will rarely dare to come uninvited.

In general, the definite invitations are given on the eve of the festivities, usually simultaneously by messengers in two canoes, one going upstream, the other downstream. Each man carries a large bark horn, bu'/bu (see p. 42), covered with banana leaves to conceal it from the glances of women and children when the canoe touches shore. Blowing this instrument, the sound of which may be heard from afar, the messengers travel from one house to another, telling the owner the exact day and hour (by the sun's position) when the ceremony is to start, and ascertaining the prospective attendance or absence of the invited guest.

Final arrangements.—While the guests are preparing masks, tucum fibers, small drums, and festive attire in their homes, the final arrangements are being made at the host's house. At the quarter of the house where the vorēkį's seclusion room is erected, outside the house a corral is made, consisting of two thatched walls, higher than a man, perpendicular to the house wall (pl. 17, *c*). The distance between the walls, which are about 12 m. long, is about 7 m. In this enclosure, called tɔ'/kį-pi^{a}i^{a} (tɔ'/kį, a ceremonial musical instrument, see below; pi^{a}i^{a}, enclosure) various ceremonies are carried out with the vorēkį. She has access to it through a small door which, except for these occasions, is firmly laubed to the house wall. During the festivities the musical instruments are kept in the enclosure at night.

A cleared path extends from this corral to a spot on the bank of the river or igarapé several hundred meters from the house, where the musical instruments and the statues used in the ceremony are kept in water during the day, to prevent the former from drying out and to conceal the latter from the uninitiated. From nightfall on, only the persons in charge of the ceremonial instruments* may frequent this path, as the host expressly advises the guests. The yard is cleaned and enlarged, and the other paths are closed off by poles, except one that remains open for the necessities of the guests. A large platform about 2 m. high is constructed inside the house for the smoked meat; it is to the right of the seclusion room. The jars, water jugs, sieves, and gourds remain near the door to the left side of the retreat. The outside surface of the wall of the seclusion room (inside the house) is decorated with paintings, that is, bands or crisscross designs composed of triangles, rhomboids, and circles. In one of these quarters is painted the figure of a deer, the symbol of vigilance. At the top there is always a sun with a conventionalized human face, a star, and a new moon. Apparently, these four designs were the only ones painted in the old days, but today the wall is filled with less traditional figures. A photograph of such a wall, taken by a Capuchin missionary, shows a watch, machetes, a tent, a soldier, a woman, and so on; I myself have observed paintings of steamships and airplanes, because nowadays any guest may take advantage of the smooth, white wall to paint whatever comes into his head.

All objects are removed from the floor of the house and are piled on top of the dwelling platform, where the inmates accommodate themselves so as to leave the greatest possible space for the free movement of the guests and for the ceremonies.

* These persons are called ʔɔɔ'-tani^{a} (ʔɔɔ', demon) or tɔ/kį-tani^{a} (tɔ'/kį, ceremonial instrument, described below).

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881 534 Before describing the performances, however, some explanation is necessary of the two elements that play such an important role in them—the ceremonial musical instruments and the masks.

The musical instruments.—We have already seen that the term "uaricána" serves to designate two quite different instruments, which share only their enormous length, their taboo character for women and children, and their almost wholly ceremonial use. One, the bu'/bu, is a conical horn made of a section of bark, rolled into a spiral; the other, the tɔ'/kị, is a wooden megaphone. Instruments of [171] the bu'/bu type are very common in the Amazon basin and in the region adjacent to the Guianas. The tɔ'/kị, in my opinion, has never been met with except among the Tukuna, for whom it is of the greatest importance, being the voice of a demon; whereas the bu'/bu is merely an accessory instrument.

881 532 534 The tɔ'/kị was formerly invariably accompanied by two statues of muirapiranga wood (T., pu'kịrẽ). Of those that I saw on the Rio Jacurapá, one was a little under, the other a little over, a meter in length and crudely made, but I was informed that in the old days they were the height of a normal man. Into these entered the shades of demons, who sang through the tɔ'/kị, with no one approaching it; there were no men players. In those times the instrument was painted with clay of various colors; neither it nor the statues were kept in water, but they were housed in a small, closed compartment within the dwelling. I did not succeed in learning the names of the personages represented by these statues. One person told me that the masculine statue was entered by the spirit of an ancient shaman of the Omágua, who had been slain by the Tukuna.

881 534 During the festivities, the tɔ'/kị and bu'/bu—there are always two or more of the latter—are brought to the enclosure each day after nightfall and are removed before dawn. The host selects an old man versed in the ritual to take care of these instruments, and also chooses other persons from among the guests, *ad hoc*, to transport and play them (tɔ'/kị-ńarị-përu'/ṁ, player).[a] No society, nor even an individual (aside from the host), is permanently in charge of the uaricánas.

Each instrument is carried in a horizontal position on the shoulders of two persons, while behind them a third plays it once or twice during the procession. In front of the ceremonial instruments march two or three piston-flute (ńë'kutị) players (see p. 43), and a few beaters (kvaidu'/ị') armed with clubs, with which they run round the feast house and beat on the thatched covering, to frighten the women and children. The instruments are placed in the enclosure on forked sticks or sawhorses, with the mouthpiece at a convenient height and the bell turned toward the wall behind which the girl stays in seclusion. With some intermission, the bu'/bu and tɔ'/kị are blown all night. In the enclosure there is always a pot with drink for the players and also for the instruments themselves, for a gourdful is poured into their mouths as a libation.

881 534 773 The tɔ'/kị and bu'/bu were invented by the culture hero dyɔi'. Each tɔ'/kị bears a name given it by its owner: that of dyɔi' is called e:ta-vẽ ("Of the Star"). Other tɔ'/kị names are ẽẽa ("King Vulture," urubú rei), i'ravà (urubú gereba), mai'a' ("Otter"), and so forth. First, dyɔi' painted his instrument with *carajurú* (*Arrabidea chica*, Bur.), but an immortal counseled him to paint it with clay of

[a] The *p* in përu'/ṁ is pronounced with incomplete closure of the lips, almost like *f*.

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different colors, for which he and dyəi' went out to search in a claybank at the headwaters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo; it is in this paint that the taboo of the tɔ'/k| is especially concentrated. The legend of tɔɔ'ẽna reflects the implacable punishment by dyəi' of a transgressor. The following is a literal translation from the original Tukuna text.

dyəi' was making ready his feast. He made the uariciána rise. Then tɔɔ'ẽna wished to see the uariciána of dyəi'. With her sister she went round them to the front. She climbed up [a tree] in front while her sister hid to one side of the path. They came beneath her with the uariciánas. She suddenly became frightened at a painting of herself. She asked them: "Oh, grandfather, where didst thou kill thy alligator?" [By now hallucinated because of the uariciána painting, she thought she saw an alligator.] She urinated much and, pa'!, fell. Then they took advantage of the situation, to kill her. Later, they returned after having killed tɔɔ'ẽna. They cut her into quarters in the place of the uariciánas on the banks of the ẽ'varẽ [a small tributary on the right bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, a little below the place where dyəi' dwelt], and that is why the ẽ'varẽ is the color of blood, because they quartered tɔɔ'ẽna there. Afterward they smoked her flesh.

At midnight the uariciána sounded again. They brought the mush [made of tɔɔ'ẽna's flesh] to the feast. dyəi' summoned everyone, including her mother and sister. dyəi' painted the hollows beneath their eyes with soot from cooking vessels, in order to kill them if they smeared the soot by weeping. Then dyəi' called her soul [through the uariciána]:

"The piston flutes [that is, the players who go before the uariciánas] have already slain me, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst leave me for a while, the beads about my waist did move before thee, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst send me to the spring, my hair waved before thee, oh, Mother! Yonder on the spit of land tawegi'ne [name of dyəi''s house] my flesh is smoked, oh Mother!"

In the journal of Padre Samuel Fritz there is a report on the use, in 1691, of the uariciána, probably the bu'/bu, among the Yurimagua of the now extinct village of Nossa Senhora das Neves (which was on an island of the Solimões near the present Fonte Bôa).

What I unearthed was unusual in this Yurimagua village; they were celebrating a feast when, from the hut where I lay, I heard the playing of a flute which caused me such a fright that I could not suffer its sound; I ordered them to cease blowing, and inquired what it was; to which they answered that in this manner they signaled and called to Guaricana,[11] who was the Devil, and who since the times of their forefathers came and attended their villages visibly, and for whom they always made a house away from the village in the forest, and there they brought him drink and the ill for him to cure. I went on to ask with what visage the figure appeared. The *curaca*[12] named Mativa answered me: "Father, I cannot explain it, I know only that it is horrible, and when it comes all the women and children flee, only the brave remain, and then the Devil takes a lash, which we have prepared from a strip of leather from the sea cow, and he whips us on the breast until much blood is drawn. In the absence of the Devil, the whipper was an old man from whom we received great scars on our breasts. This is done, it is said, to make us valiant. The form that he used to take was that of a tiger, pig, and other animals; sometimes he became a giant, at other times a dwarf."

I asked further if he had said anything about me to them, or whether he would kill me, but they said that the words were not clear, "and since thou didst come," said the *curaca*, "the first time that thou didst plant the Cross, he does not wish to come any more to the village, or to cure any more the sick which some carry to his house; for this purpose we now bring them to you, so that they may receive the Gospel and not die."

[11] "Guaricuya" in the Evora MS.

[12] In Peru, a native chief who receives his authority from the whites, i.e., a cacique; in Brazil he is called a *tuixáua*.

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881 534 175 This is what I was informed, on this occasion, in regard to the Devil, about whom there had been a previous report that conforms to what is said also about the Aisuros, which farther below they call Solimões, and the other nations which have similar communications.[a]

881 276 *The ceremonial taking of snuff.*—As far as I could establish, flagellation was never practiced by the Tukuna, who have, however, another ceremony linked directly with the ceremonial musical instruments—the taking of a coarse snuff called ka'/vị. The principal ingredient is a powder of toasted tobacco. The other constituents are bark ash of *cupuhy*, bark ash of pau mulato, ash of green banana peel, ash of the fruit rind of envira de matamatá, and a yellow lichen that grows preferably on the bark of the *javarí* palm, from which it is scraped. This lichen is said to belong to a demon named po'panẹ.

881 276 237 The mixture is rubbed through a piece of woven cloth so that an extremely fine powder is formed. *Paricá* (*Piptadenia peregrina*, Benth.) does not enter into its composition. The powder is kept in a special container made from a large, white snail shell (mẽ'ru), the aperture of which is sealed by a plug of mirror glass held by wax. Thrust into the apex of the shell, and also held firm by wax, is a short tube of hollow bird bone, about the thickness of a pencil, through which the powder is removed. Formerly, for the taking of this snuff, there was a device called ta'ru, made of a bamboo tube or tubular bone of the royal hawk, bifurcated by quills of the same bird to form two tubes, firmly joined with wax. (ta'ru also means "fire fan"; kvẽkura'/ṅ is "snuffer.") Today this device is replaced by a single bamboo tube some seven centimeters long.

276 881 The ka'/vị is taken within the enclosure, by night if in the presence of the uaricána, by day, in its absence. The host administers it to the men who present themselves, placing the snuff in the bamboo tube, inserting one end of this in whichever nostril the taker may desire, and then blowing strongly at the other end.

Formerly, the forked quills of the device allowed the ka'/vị to be blown into both nostrils simultaneously. As soon as a man receives the first application, he immediately closes his eyes, bows his head, and seeks a place where he can lie down or can lean against something. He is visibly stupefied, supporting his head on his hand or knees, yet I have never seen anyone lose his senses, and after some three minutes the effect passes.

When the uaricánas are in the enclosure at night, there invariably appear some little boys seven years of age and over, who circle the corral, full of curiosity and eager to learn what is taking place. Since they know what will happen to them if caught by the to'kị-tanị[a] (the persons in charge of the uaricánas), and they are afraid, they dare each other in order to get up their courage, until finally the men in charge of the uaricánas pounce on them and force them to take ka'/vị. At that age the effect is even more violent, especially as regards loss of the senses, but I have never heard that it stimulates dreams or visions. When it takes effect, the boys are permitted to drink from the jar that stands next to the instruments, leaning against the wall of the enclosure; henceforth they have free access to the enclosure, being allowed to see and touch the statues and instruments. Perhaps in the old days this initiation of the boys into the mysteries of the ceremonial instruments was more solemn than now, when it is already on the road to disappearance because of increasing profanation of these mysteries.

[a] Fritz, Diario, p. 378.

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292 776 532 ma'vi, the araparyrana tree. (Pl. 18, *b*.) The fruits of this tree have an odor and anciently had an agreeable taste, since lost because the culture hero o'pi dropped them into curare before leaving the earth. The costume of red or white tururí, which sometimes has sleeves but never trouser legs, covers the wearer from head to foot. The faceless head is conical and has on top a plume of uarumã stripe to the tips of which are attached small white plaeques of burity frond-stalks, rhomboid or divided, which represent the fruit of the araparyrana. The characteristic ornament of the costume consists of a painted, toothed J, simple or double. A rod is carried in the right hand, while the left holds a long, slim bamboo whistle introduced into the mouth through a small orifice in the tururí; today this whistle is almost always replaced by the long stem of a papaya leaf. [534]

ʒavʲ', maize. (Pl. 17, *a*.) The outfit, of white tururí painted with vertical stripes, has no face, no arms, and no legs. The conical head ends in a tuft representing a corn tassel. Two imitations of ears of corn are attached to each side, one about the height of the elbow, the other just below.

tɔʲ', caiarára monkey (*Cebus albifrons*) (pl. 18, *a*) and taikjrẽ', prego monkey (*Cebus fatuellus*) (pl. 18, *c*) are the two commonest types of costumes. Individually, the representation differs greatly, and in neither can one distinguish the animals whose names the represented demons bear, except that one or the other is shown with a phallus in the shape characteristic of the species. The faces are always diabolical; the garments, of red or white tururí, have no trouser legs and rarely have sleeves, the arms protruding through lateral openings.

292 [177] 293 [534] The imagination of the wearers has free play in the ornamental painting of the tururí, so that one observes modern airplanes represented side by side with traditional designs. These outfits are characterized by rattles suspended by wooden hooks, or on fantastically long and thick spears, or even on a smooth stick of wood 25 cm. in length by 2 cm. in diameter; with these the masqueraders rhythmically beat against the hooks. Once I saw nine of these masqueraders holding a log as thick as a man's arm horizontally before them, with which they beat out the measure. Another carried a handful of slim, pointed rods of anajá ribs or similar material, which he threw, two or three at a time, like assegais, against the wall of the girl's seclusion room, where they remained sticking. The spectators shouted for him to throw them at the figure of the deer painted on the wall.

881 These tɔʲ' masqueraders always comport themselves in a very impetuous, cocky manner, beating on the house thatch before entering, and galloping furiously to and fro through the center of the festive house, with no regard for those who may be inside. After a while they present themselves in a threatening attitude before the jars, demanding drink, some of the tɔʲ' giving in exchange "their son" (pl. 16, *d*), a doll of tururí in more or less human form with a demon's face, which is carried suspended from the backs and which after the feast serves as a plaything of the little girls. [524]

[415] Those who have a face mask in one piece with the body costume drink by means of the tube of a papaya leafstalk. Afterward they again race off to disappear in the jungle, where they remove and store their masks; they never rest or sit down while in the house. As soon as a masked dancer, regardless of his type, enters the house, a few persons, sometimes even the owner or his wife, array themselves behind him and, holding on to his costume, accompany him in his mad career through the dwelling; to escort the taikjrẽ' or tɔʲ' thus is no simple matter, but it forms the favorite entertainment of the older children of both sexes. Probably this is what Spix meant to show in his plate with the two little girls holding the fringes of the masquerader in front of the rest.

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PLATE 14

Dance staves and musical instruments. *a–f*. Dance staves. *g*. ba:'/na. *h–j*. Drums. × ½.

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534

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293
532

a b c d e f

[534]

g h i j

DANCE STAVES AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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881
291
142
[302]

a

b

[534]

c

GIRL AT PUBERTY CEREMONY

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PLATE 16

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[534]

Masquerade costumes and accessories. *a*. ɔ̃ma, the demon of the wind. *b*. Otter, *c*. dyɛ̃ʷnaĩ. *d*. ɔ̃ma's whistle (left); "nose" of tɨ̃ɨ' (right). *d*, × ⅙.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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532

a

b

c

d

●[534]

[P.201]

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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861 More than among other tribes, *Tucuna* children receive corporal punish-
824 ment, especially with the external application of nettle flowers that are grown for this purpose at the edge of the yard. They play with dolls
524 carved of muirapiranga, figures of animals, little canoes, small bows and arrows, and buzz-disks of gourd shells.

173 **Boys' puberty observances.**—There is a tradition that in former times,
881 young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (tá/ki) through an application of snuff called ká/vi, which is still used occasionally.

114 There are no vestiges of homosexuality, as claimed by Tessmann (1930,
838 p. 563).

881 **Girls' puberty rites.**—At her first menstruation, a girl is secluded in the house loft. This is not so cruel as certain travelers (Bates, 1863, 2:406)
[114] proclaim. Every girl submits willingly, convinced that her peculiar condi-
[626] tion requires it and that its omission would be dangerous, as she is surrounded by invisible "immortals" and demons, who seek contact with her and at times cause extraordinary supernatural experiences. Many stories told to a girl in seclusion illustrate this dangerous state.

[342] The people hasten to prepare for the girl a circular seclusion room adjacent to the east or west wall of the house, according to her moiety.
[532] They decorate the walls with painted bands and lines, and figures of the sun, moon, morning star, and deer, the last a symbol of vigilance and not a "totem."

[262] Preparations for the feast sometimes require months. They prepare roast meat and beverages and make the house ready. The girl's father is host, but her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies concerning
[574] her person, being wholly responsible for her. Friends and acquaintances
[202] receive two invitations to the feast; the second, which specifies the date,
[534] is issued to the sound of the bark trumpet, which is carried hidden in the canoe.

[534] In the exterior portion of the house, corresponding to the girl's seclusion room, a long fence is made with straw walls to conceal the megaphone (tá/ki), its statues, and the bark trumpet which operate behind it each night of the feast and are removed before daybreak and hidden underwater in the creek. People are chosen and invited to operate these instruments by the head of the house when the time comes; there is no permanent assignment. Inside the fence of the megaphone, snuff (ká/vi) or tobacco
[276] powder is taken with several ingredients (but not parica). The snuff is kept in a snail shell and blown into the nose by means of an apparatus made of a tubular bone and two quills of royal sparrow hawk feathers, or by means of a simple taboca (bamboo) tube. Boys of 7 or older cus-
[562] tomarily are given snuff, after which they may see and touch the instru-
[858] ments within the fence, which are taboo to women and to boys who have not yet had it.

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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At this feast, as at the feast of children's depilation and ear piercing, masks are used (pl. 65, *top*). These are made, used, and cared for by the guests, who portray anything they wish, such as imaginary demons and fantastic animals. They are in no way associated with individual persons, societies, or other groups. The masked persons customarily remain unidentified until they deliver their masks to the host. About 90 percent of those wearing masks are men, 7 percent boys, and the remainder girls and young women. For costume, clothing is cut and sewn from the bast fiber of certain trees (*Ficus* sp.), sometimes in the shape of pants, sleeves, and fringes, and at other times in the form of a tight gown without sleeves, extending half way down the leg. The face, generally a horrendous caricature of a demon (pl. 64, *top, right*), may be attached to or separate from the costume. The mask representing the storm demon is distinguished by an enormous face and a phallus nearly 18 inches (½ m.) long. Nearly all clothes are painted with vegetable dyes. Sometimes the motif of the mask is identified by the song rather than by the appearance of the mask, which is entirely a product of the individual's imagination. The masked people, sometimes numbering 40 to 50, gather in a special place in the woods, and go to the house in groups up to 10, some of them running up and down at a furious pace, and others approaching slowly. They come for a drink, then disappear to make way for another group.

At the appointed time the guests arrive at the house with their families, sometimes numbering more than 300 persons. They are received inside along the walls, the center being left open for the ceremonies. When all have assembled, they go to the kitchen to be painted with urucú and to have their faces decorated with royal sparrow hawk down. After everyone receives a piece of roast meat, all return in a solemn procession to the house and put their meat on a stand on the side of the seclusion room. On the other side are the vessels of beverages. The feast now begins. Henceforth, everyone goes around the central space in the house singing to the accompaniment of small drums and carrying his dancing stick on his shoulder.

Early in the morning, the girl is brought through a door from the seclusion room to the fenced place around the megaphone where, with her face turned to the proper cardinal point, she is adorned with genipa and white turury that have been ceremonially prepared. Before sunset, she is decorated in the seclusion room with streamers of royal sparrow hawk plumage, a long macaw feather diadem, feather bracelets with white turury fringes, strings of feathers made of toucan abdomens and tails, shell bells with bone clappers, and ear pegs, which are prepared by skilled persons and tried out by her relatives. The women fan her with broad leaves. She then stands in her room facing the place where the megaphone and trumpet are sounded and scratching herself with a little stick. The guests in the main room are given meat and fish stew and cooked bananas.

2: Nimuendaju E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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881 Several hours after midnight, half a dozen of the girl's relatives, holding her around the waist while her eyes are covered by the feather diadem, [535] dance back and forth toward the wall, which is cut open with a knife so that they finally pass through into the main room. As she is now more exposed to invisible forces, the relatives dance with her until near dawn, then slowly go outside and circle the house. At sunrise they uncover her eyes and have her throw a burning stick against a pole marked to represent the "enemy." She now walks without assistance and dances freely with the others in the house.

[302] Depilation follows. The girl sits on the tapir hide in the middle of the room while three to six women pull out her head hair in little bunches, [534] accompanied by a small drum (tambor) and rattle. She endures the operation calmly, not even drink being given to alleviate the pain. Her paternal uncle in a vigorous speech then instructs her about her future duties as a marriageable girl.

The masks are now surrendered, each owner receiving a piece of roast meat. The disguises are piled around the girl, until only her head protrudes. The cloth is then ripped and the shreds thrown over the house beams. The turury cloths, which now belong to the host, are wound up and put away.

The seclusion room and roast-meat stand are dismantled. The participants divide the pieces, going in a solemn procession to toss them into [482] the river. The girl is carried on the tapir hide held by five or six men over their heads in the procession. She undresses, and, kneeling in [751] shallow water where a magic arrow protects her against water demons, she is washed by all the men who have magical powers. She then redecorates herself and joins the dancers, who perform in the house until the last drop of beverage is drunk. At the end of the feast, everyone [522] bathes hilariously together, tossing each other into the water.

[226] Formerly, in order to bring a large haul of fish, the girl was washed again after the feast with a solution of timbó at an appropriate spot on [789] the creek.

Six to eight months later there is a supplementary but less ceremonial feast to trim the girl's regrown hair.

841 Subsequent menstruations entail few restrictions: a woman stays in her yard because the spirits of certain trees may injure her with an arrow and because contact with her would make a man inefficient in any undertaking.

836 **Marriage and adulthood.**—Sexual intercourse with prepubescent girls is unthinkable; with young women it brings shame on the whole family. There is no instance of ravishment. Rape is a grave offense to the parents.

584 A request for marriage is made to the girl's paternal uncle, but if the girl refuses peremptorily, she cannot be forced to marry. Public notice

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

532 **Art.**—The *Tucuna* were fine sculptors. Their carved figures on the dancing sticks, stools, and tucumã nut figures in their necklaces are at times very artistic. Painting is restricted mainly to masks and pottery ornamentation.

533 534 **Music.**—During feasts, the *Tucuna* sing in a falsetto voice so low that it can hardly be heard. Three important instruments are: (1) a wooden, tubular megaphone into which they speak and sing and which is 22 feet (6¼ m.) long with an opening 5 inches (12 cm.) wide and a mouthpiece 2 inches (5 cm.) long; (2) a conical trumpet 13 feet to 19½ feet (4 to 6 m.) long made of a strip of bark wound spirally; and (3) a piston whistle made of liana bark. The last is always sounded before the other two. In any ceremony there is always a faithful imitation of the European drum and a *Thevetia*-shell rattle, the latter taking the place of the conventional maracá, which is unknown. The old form of drum was possibly the shell of a chelonium, which now is used only in one ceremonial. There are also panpipes, bone flutes, and bamboo horns.

[177]

526 **Adult games.**—In shuttlecock, a maize-husk ball is batted into the air with the palm of the hand by men standing in a ring. In a tug-of-war in which a thick liana is used, one team of men competes against another. A ring-and-pin game is played by two men facing each other. Grown girls make cats cradles with threads wrapped around the fingers, toes, and head.

[524]

273 **Beverages.**—Women make alcoholic beverages from maize, cooked bitter manioc, and half-burned cakes (beijú) of manioc; the last was adopted from the Neo-Brazilians. Today many men are addicted to rum.

[177] [733]

SHAMANISM

754 756 Even today many Indians possess magic powers to help or harm others. These powers come from intercourse with the spirits of certain trees with which an old shaman puts his disciple in contact. The neophyte shaman receives a magic substance which contains invisible thorns. He throws these into his victim's body, where they reproduce and cause his death unless another shaman sucks them out and completes the cure by applying herbs. The shaman chews tobacco (formerly, he used a tubular wooden pipe with an opening on the side for the mouth) to become possessed of the spirit which supplied the magic pathogenic substance to the witch doctor. Chewing tobacco identifies the evil shaman.

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753 Children fall ill when the spirits of the trees kidnap their souls. Epidemics come from the sun and are spread by the wind.

683 672 When the *Tucuna* are convinced that a shaman is responsible for one or more deaths, their revenge even reaches his relatives. In 1942, three *Tucuna* killed a much-feared shaman and his two sons. The avengers